1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

The first Matauvave came from Mua, Tongatabu. He was accompanied by an official named Uto [probably Kolomoeuto mentioned above]. Matauvave went to live in Uoleva Island. If he wanted to let the people know that he was going to give a command (*fono*) he would send someone to the north shore of Uoleva to remove his garment and expose his buttocks. Then the people in Lifuka would know that the governor was going to give a command as to certain work to be done. If the signal were given in the afternoon, the people assembled that evening in Uoleva. When a chief's grave was to be dug or a pigeon mound to be erected sufficient labor was obtained for the earth to be dug and the mound formed in the night. In the morning the mound (*sia*) would be already made. The only reason the informant could assign for the night work was to make the people "sorry."

Uoleva was set aside as a pigeon reserve and had only the necessary people dwelling on it. The Uoleva mounds were built by the Lifuka people. The name of the first mound built on Uoleva was Finevalapililolo. The second was Siamaka. The third was Siakape; the fourth was Kulufotu. Kulufotu was where the wild pigeons were caught with nets set on long poles, into which they were decoyed by a captive pigeon on a long cord. Turuetefekekaekaieteika was the fifth pigeon mound built and Tulikituahaa the sixth. A seventh mound was Mamataatu. The present Matauvave said there were many others built, about thirty in all, but he knew the names of only seven. He said all were provided with ramps or steps and that some were larger than the Siamafuauta in Tongatabu. He knew of no sacrifices in connection with pigeon mound construction.

Matauvave would stand on the *sia* of Mamataatu. At dusk a flock of pigeons would make a sudden appearance in Lofanga Island. Then they would come to Matauvave's *sia* and he would catch them. But the *lupetoto* (perhaps "pigeon spirit") died there and not one pigeon came again. Then he shifted to Muitoa in Haano and the name of the *sia* erected there by the Haano people is Toloke. It seems likely that the numerous pigeon mounds on the neighboring Nukunamu Island may have been erected also under a Matauvave's directions. Pigeons migrated from Samoa to Tonga in October, when it was said that anciently they came in such numbers as to look like a cloud. They were said to remain in Tonga until March. [The species is *Globicera pacifica*.]

The mound Huluipaongo on the shore of Lifuka Island, facing Uoleva, is the burial place of holders of the Matauvave title, the latest one interred being the mother's brother of the incumbent of 1920. This mound is said to have originated from the clay thrown ashore by people washing their heads in the sea after building pigeon mounds. The clay used occurs as a subsoil in Uoleva.

The first Matauvave is reputed to have built the fortress Velata, Lifuka Island. All Haapai furnished laborers for this work.

One Matauvave came and stayed in a place called Tokilangi, which stands in Fanganonu in Pangai, Lifuka. His daughter went to Uoleva and she slipped from the ford (*ahonga*) and hurt herself. That is why the place is called Kofokohaangatoma. All the people were then told to make a road connecting the two islands at low tide and it was called Taaemaka. There were two roads made.

The first Matauvave who was taken to be governor of Haapai died there. He was buried on the seashore at Nuanga, Lifuka Island. His god was Aloalo. Tamatuiumee was the name of his *api* or tract of land.

Another man was appointed [Taufa Tofua] to dwell in Tofua Island and at the same time the warrior Havili was appointed to stay in Lofanga Island.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 0U9 Tonga 0U9

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto.

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 126.)

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear.

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out.

Men shave the hair from the legs.

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans.

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*faa*), also wear the hair quite short.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 "the first of which exercises they call *fanga-*
648 "*tooa*, and the second *foohoo*. When any of
526 "them chooses to wrestle, he gets up from one
[201] "side of the ring, and crosses the ground in a
"sort of measured pace, clapping smartly on
"the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent,
"and produces a hollow sound; that is reckon-
"ed the challenge. If no person comes out
"from the opposite side to engage him, he re-
"turns in the same manner, and sits down; but
"sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the
"ground, to provoke some one to come out.
"If an opponent appear, they come together
"with marks of the greatest good nature, ge-
"nerally smiling, and taking time to adjust the
"piece of cloth which is fastened round the
"waist. They then lay hold of each other by
"this girdle, with a hand on each side, and he
"who succeeds in drawing his antagonist to
"him immediately tries to lift him upon his
"breast, and throw him upon his back, and if
"he be able to turn round with him two or
"three times in that position, before he throws
"him, his dexterity never fails of procuring
"plaudits from the spectators. If they be
"more equally matched, they close soon, and
"endeavour to throw each other by entwining
"their legs, or lifting each other from the
"ground; in which struggles they shew a pro-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

stance to Mr. Mariner, stating, that they allowed the Papalangies to get the victory sometimes, because they did not like to beat the poor fellows so much. There was probably, at the same time, a little apprehension of offending their visitors; for it is certain, that when a man is engaged singly with a chief much superior to him, he sometimes allows himself to be beaten, or rather yields out of respect to his opponent; and the sign by which he shews his disposition to do so is a sudden toss of the head on one side, upon which his antagonist immediately retires to his seat. There is something admirable in the perfect good humour and forbearance of temper which is always manifested on these occasions, sufficiently so to astonish natives of European countries: for on occasions when there is a general combat, (as related p. 207.) even Tooitonga sometimes gets miserably handled by one of the lowest fellows in the island; but nevertheless he retires from the games without the least inimical spirit, although perhaps with his eyes black, his mouth and nose dreadfully swelled, and, it may happen, with his arm broken; all done by a man over whom he has the power of life and death: for it must be observed, that when there is a general combat, no quarter is given on either side.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'ao* and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'aganaana*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 776 157 **370. E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.

Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move. (Compare Nos. 358, 340 and 133.)

539 554 565 784 **371. Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.

The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of superior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has presumed to do that which he should not.

539 825 787 201 **372. Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.

This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the reduplicated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird. There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous, presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 776 773 [829] **373. Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.

Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilau was one of the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilau would probably be hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 778 681 **374. Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.

Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an inviolable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 776 183 **375. Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.

Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent, is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended himself by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

387. Maomao ki taovala: Ready, prepared with *taovala.* 539

The *taovala* is the girdle, usually a piece of mat, put round the waist before going into the presence of a chief. The phrase means to have the *taovala* always handy to be used whenever needed; hence to be prepared for any emergency that may arise. 292 183

388. Pule Taoa: Taoa finery.

Pule is literally "spotted," "variegated," as the design in some cloths, or the markings of a cowry shell. This expression is modern and is applied to an European print with a big, gaudy pattern. It is said that one day several women from Taoa, a village in Vavau, went into a store in Neiafu and bought some prints, apparently of rather striking designs. While they were still in the store a man came in and, seeing their purchases, remarked in the words of this expression "Taoa is going in for spots," and the phrase has stuck. 539 291 177

389. Tui momoa: Dry knee, that is, a knee that is hard and dry through exposure to the weather. 539 291 735

A woman's ordinary dress should descend below the knee; an exception is made of the festive dresses worn in dances and sometimes on other ceremonious occasions. This expression indicates primarily a woman so poor that she cannot afford a sufficiently broad piece of cloth for her waistcloth, and so has her knees exposed to the sun and rain and wind. It is used derisively of a poor person.

390. Vala kovi fie kofu silika: Bad loin-cloth wanting to be silk dress. 539 291 554

Evidently inodern. The point is rendered plainer if the statement is correct that in the early days silk cost as much as £5 a yard. Used of a commoner who wants to act the chief.

FACIAL EXPRESSION AND GESTURES

391. Faka-alinga lelei: Making a fair showing. 539

This expression carries the implication that there are faults behind the pleasant exterior or that an amiable face may be the mask assumed by very unfriendly feelings. 828

392. Faka-pula-matai: Making eye swell. 539

Used of a very angry man, whose eyes protrude in his rage. May be used also of the victim of this rage, whose eyes may swell with vexation and grief, or who may even get a swollen eye through the physical application of the other man's anger; in this sense not unlike the English vulgarism of giving anyone a thick ear. 152 201

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 152 **393. Hange ha matai fana hala:** Like the face of a man who has missed his aim.

201 521 Such a man will be ashamed of his poor shot (with gun or bow and arrows), and may attempt to hide his confusion with inconsequent talk. Used of someone who has done what he is ashamed of, and whose shame is betrayed in his face and talk.

539 481 828 **394. *Hange ha tangitofuhia:*** *Like a bewildered diver.*

Tangitofuhia is used of the bleeding from nose and ears caused by staying a long time under water. In this place it seems rather to refer to a partial loss of consciousness resulting perhaps from striking the head or of staying under water too long, which renders the diver unable to find his way again to the surface. The unfortunate diver will swim about at random in his vain efforts to come up. Applied to one who wanders aimlessly about, or whose thoughs are erratic and disjointed.

539 571 157 **395. Hange kuo takai kapa hono lae:** As though his forehead were sheathed in metal.

Kapa is the local variation of copper, and is used for metal generally. This would seem to be altogether modern, probably suggested by Biblical language, though the same idea of hardy shamelessness is expressed in the Tongan phrase "Veiled with clam-shell." (See No. 241.)

539 571 522 **396. Kamo lalo:** Making secret signs.

Not strictly a proverb; it means that a number of people sitting together one is ironically complimenting another, or in some other way fooling him, at the same time making signs to the rest of the company and thus admitting them into the joke. It is used very much like the Australianism "pulling his leg."

539 152 201 **397. Katakata a nifo tea:** Smiling white teeth.

This is what Uncle Remus calls "a fit of the dry grins." A man may try to cover his shame or confusion with a smile; his teeth will be showing white as though he were smiling but the real feeling of his heart is far from laughter.

539 152 **398. Lau lau louhulu:** Fingering, fingering dried leaves.

A man who is ashamed or embarrassed is likely to break off a piece of the dried leaves with which the houses are floored and keep twisting it about in his hands as he talks; if outside of the house he will pick up any stick or other such thing that happens to be at hand.

[461] So used generally of doing some more or less irrelevant thing to cover up deficiencies, or to hide one's shame and embarrassment, just as a man who is behind with his work may start hustling round to give the impression that he has been hard at it for hours.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

399. Malimali loto: Smiling (in the) heart. 539 152 828

Satisfaction with what is one's own; self-satisfaction. The expression is said to have originated with the handsome man *(manaia)* Vainuku who lived in Eua where he had a little pool of water which he used as a mirror. When he saw the reflection of his handsome face the sight filled him with pleasure, made his heart smile. The pool itself was named *Malimali loto.*

400. Mata mea fooua: Seeing a new thing.

Indicative of the surprise and gratification experienced at beholding an unaccustomed sight. (See No. 267.)

401. Pauu afi mata: Mischievousness pulling down lower lid of the eye. 539 201 578 522

To pull down the lower lid of one's eye at a person is an insulting gesture; but this phrase refers apparently to one who should be so impudent as to do it to the eye of another, as for example a pert child treating thus his mother's eye. The expression means excessively impudent or mischievous.

402. Tuai e kemo: The wink (is) slow. 539 805

Instantaneous, very quick, literally much quicker than a wink of the eyes.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE

539 561 888

403. Finemotua fie finemui: Old woman wanting to be young woman.

A rebuke to the lady who refuses to grow old gracefully; but strives to cheat the advancing years with the adornments and manners that befit the young and fair.

404. Mata kovi ka nae fili ekita: Ugly but I chose myself. 539 832 581

The most direct application of this is to a man who has taken to wife a lady not specially dowered with beauty. She is not handsome but she is the choice of her husband.

405. Uliuli a fine Eua: The dark complexion of a Eua woman. 539 832 562 184

The women of Eua were not reckoned beauties, but were well looked after and hard to come at. If a boat called at Eua the women would freely move about and perform the tasks incidental to the entertainment of the visitors, but at night were shut up and carefully guarded. The expression refers slightingly to these ladies, who, in spite of their lack of charm, were jealously watched.

406. Jiiji a pakiji: The wiry man is lean. 539 826

The word *pakiji* means lean but strong. There is a certain redundancy in saying that such a strong wiry man is thin.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

The bride, a fine woman of twenty three years of age, came soon after, at the head of three hundred women, who followed her in procession. Her dress was modest and elegant. A thin vest, neatly crimped, of a dark colour, which shewed her complexion to advantage, was fastened under her arms, and hung down to her waist, where it was bound close, by a skirt, riched with flowery ornaments of matting.

She walked at the distance of two or three paces before them; her carriage was graceful and majestic, yet modest, her eyes cast down with that diffident coyness and decorous timidity, which, notwithstanding the audacity of the age, so often heightens the charms of the daughters of Britain. As she entered the green before the fallee, or habitation, where the guests were all seated in comely rank and order, a female advanced from the company and taking her respectfully by the hand conducted her to her husband, and gracefully seated her by his side. The attendants then retired from her, and seated themselves in order with the guests, leaving the bride and bridegroom in a little space by themselves. The provisions were then plentifully distributed. After the repast, the bridegroom rose, advanced to the shore, and went on board the canoe. The three hundred women that attended her rose up after him, conducted the bride, in a procession to the shore, and four of them handed

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

weather. The people employ'd in wooding, mending sails &c as usual on shore, & those on board in getting up the empty water casks &c.

In return for the entertainment we receiv'd yesterday a party of marines were order'd to go through their excercise on the spot where the dances were perform'd last night. Poulaho with the other principal people were present, and all the spectators were well pleas'd with the several motions when properly done, but they easily discern'd the aukwardness of some of their monuvres which afforded them matter for much mirth. They could not however help expressing their surprize at some platoons that were tolerably exact, and still more at the distance they saw the bullets fly to upon the water, but they seem'd to pay little attention to the fife and drum or french horns that play'd in the intervals.

In the evening we exhibited some fire works on the same spot, which was convenient from being close to the water side, and they expressd a considerable degree of wonder at some of them, especially the water rockets and two false fires, the first of which some of them were apprehensive would come on shore when they saw them change their place so frequently in the water, and very seriously ask'd the question. We found that the diversions which were shown us yesterday had been done entirely by the orders of Mareewagee and Toobou, for the two piles of Yams that lay in the ground where they had been perform'd were given to Cap^tn Cook as a present (with some pieces of cloth) and most probably were levy'd as a tribute for that purpose, from the equality of what every man brought.

The circle of natives about the tent being pretty large they engag'd the greatest part of the afternoon in boxing and wrestling, the first of which they call Fanga'tooa, the other Foohoo.[1] When any of them chuses to wrestle he gets up from one side of the ring, crosses the ground in a sort of [measured] pace clapping smartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound that is reckon'd the challenge. If no person appears from the opposite side to engage him he returns in the same manner and sits down, but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appears they come together with marks of the greatest good nature, generally smiling and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth they wear which is fastened about the waste. They then lay hold of each other by the piece of cloth, or a girdle which they sometimes wear, with a hand on each side and one endeavours to draw his antagonist to him, which if he is so lucky as to effect he immediately trys to lift him upon his breast and throw him

[1] He has got the words reversed: *fuhu* is boxing, *fangatua* is wrestling.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

177 appears probable the inhabitants of Tonga think them worthy of
104 imitation in many respects. I have subjoind three words which seem to differ much from those of the other isles.

Tama'lôá	A chief man
Tamaë'ty	A chief woman
Solle	A common man

648 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their
[201] authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with their hands. This place is compos'd of several high isles which bear
[509] about w from Hapaee and is much larger than Tonga. Its distance may be guess'd by their time of sailing to it which with a good wind is
721 three days but with an indifferent one five or more. The inhabitants sometimes visit Tonga and the other isles in a hostile manner and carry off their hogs and other things, where they are much dreaded from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the unnatural practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle.
[266] This practice is destested very much by the people of Tonga (who
[819] mention something of an Island to the eastward where the same custom prevails) and who cultivate the friendship of those of Feejee apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish with them on their own ground and carry off red feathers as their Booty, which are found in great plenty there and highly valued at
648 Tonga. When they are at peace the intercourse between the islands
177 seems pretty frequent, though they have been doubtless but lately known to each other, or we may suppose that Tonga and the other
231 isles would have before this been supplied with a breed of dogs which abound at Feejee, and though now at Tonga were not to be seen
171 when Captn Cook was here in 1773. Contrary to the practice at
304 Tonga the women of this place are punctur'd but not the men. We have seen several of both sexes at Tonga who are generally smaller
563 than the natives of that place, are of a deeper and more shining black and have the hair frizzled. The Ears of some are slit and the lobe hangs down almost to the shoulder, like the inhabitants of some other isles in the south sea. They are much respected here, not only perhaps as a powerfull people but from their ingenuity, as they seem even to exceed the inhabitants of Tonga in that respect if we might judge from several things that come from that place: as their clubs and spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner, their cloth which is beautifully checquer'd, variegated matts, their earthen pots, and

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Spectators. The Indians are divided into two Parties, the Wrestlers go out from each Side one, two, or three as it happens. The Wrestling is generally introduced by the Boys of ab^{t} 6 or 7 years old, & is then taken up by older ones & so on till the old men themselves are at last engaged, tho' they seldom make their appearance till the boxing is introduced, where more Manhood & Skill is required. He who goes out first gives a formal Challenge to all round by laying the left Arm across the Breast & striking it hard with the right hand open, which gives a smart Sound; as he continues to do this he runs with a moderate pace up & down the Circle, and if no one comes out to answer the Challenge which is performed in the same manner, he continues it till he arrives at the place from whence he set out & then takes his seat, but it seldom happens that he does not meet with an Opponent; when they close they lay hold of each other by a platted Girdle which they put on for this purpose. In general the Contest is but short; when it is ended both the Victor and vanquished rise & pay their respects to Powlohow by sitting down before him cross legg'd & touching his feet with their Heads, after which they return to their respective Sides. He that is conquered retires silently, while the other as he goes off repeats the Challenge and is received by his Party with a Song of Triumph, which is repeated very loud in a kind of recitative; the Words are 'Too way Hey O mār tō yo ē',[1] the first word is sung by a single person & the rest in full Chorus by the Party to which the Conqueror belonged. A Continuance of the Exercise excites their Emulation & the young Men grow impatient for the lists, this sometimes brings on half a dozen matches at once, which when those who seemed to sit as Judges & Conductors of the Games perceived they put a stop to them by introducing the Boxing.

The first step taken in this Exercise is to bind the clenched fist with a small Chord so that it cannot be opened; this done, he who gives the Challenge goes out & with a kind of a half jump & half hop advances slowly & with a becoming Carriage from one end of the ring to the other, & instead of the form used to challenge at wrestling, he brandishes his fists, collects & dilates his body into several kinds of guards & attacks, which he continues till his antagonist shews himself at the other end of the Circle & advances to meet him, who comes on with the same parade and Gestures as the other; they loose no time, they just put themselves in a posture of defence and the attack

[1] *Tu'u ai he 'o mau tu e*, 'Stand up and shout hurrah', an expression still current at weddings and other festive gatherings. The lengthening and distortion of vowels in a shouted recitative would account for the peculiarities of Samwell's version.

61: Kaeppler

OU9 Tonga OU9

201
516

[For information on gestures and postures used in Tongan dance, see Category 535.]

61: Kaeppler E-5 (1964-1967) 1977 OU9 Tonga OU9

535 M.IV.3. is a sideward rotation of the head and is used in conjunction with arm movements. The head follows the arm movements. If the arms are not performing the same movements, the head movement, M.IV.3. follows the arm that is farthest away. Although it is not choreographed, it is understood that M.IV.3. should be included in a performance.

In Labanotation:

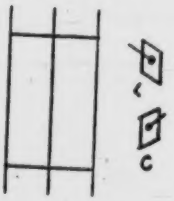

Figure 5.123. Morphokine M.IV.3.

M.IV.4. is exactly the same movement as M.III., H_1. When used as M.IV.4. this head tilt is used in addition to the arms and is not emic. It is, nonetheless, important. Although it does not have a prescribed place in the choreography, and is used when the dancer feels it should be added, there are certain moments in the dance when dancer and spectator alike 'know' that it should appear. This depends on rhythm, words of the poetry, emotion of the dancer, and mood of the audience. It is of prime importance in distinguishing good dancers from poor ones. For Labanotation, see M.III.

535 Facial expression, though not emic is also a component in Tongan
201 dance. The facial expression is usually a happy smiling one, however,

535 occasionally the expression becomes serious reflecting the words or
201 mood of the poetry. The eyes, too, play a part. The eyes 'smile' as an extension of the smiling face--eyes and face are the same word, mata, in Tongan. During the head morphokines, M.III. and M.IV.4., the eyes make a quick side move that corresponds to the side tilt of the head.

535 Summary of Internal Structure

So far in this Chapter the corpus of data has been segmented into morphokines and grouped together into seven classes. In summary, these classes are:

M.I.a. Nima morphokines which can be performed in more than one environment (M.I.b.). They are active morphokines.

M.I.b. Position-environment morphokines which co-occur with M.I.a. morphokines. They are usually passive.

M.I.c. Nima-environment morphokines which include active nima movements and the environments in which they occur. M.I.c. as a class is equivalent in the amount of information to M.I.a. plus M.I.b.

M.II.a. Leg morphokines which use legs only.

M.II.b. Arm-leg morphokines which consist of touching the hand to some part of the leg.

M.III. Head morphokine which is emic or significant alone.

M.IV. Head and body morphokines which follow the movements of the

535 **Pāpātenga**

Repeated hitting the knee with the hand is a common beginning in the sitting dance type called fa'ahiula. This is morpheme M.II.b.1. [201] repeated in a series. It is sometimes called pāpātenga 'slap the thigh' because women do this when angry, or for emphasis.

Pāpāuma

Another common touching motif in sitting dances is the touching of the shoulder of the adjacent person. This is done by a rotation of the lower arm in M.I.b.30. touching first the front of the shoulder and then the back. It can be called pāpāuma, 'touch the shoulder,' which describes the movement.

In Labanotation:

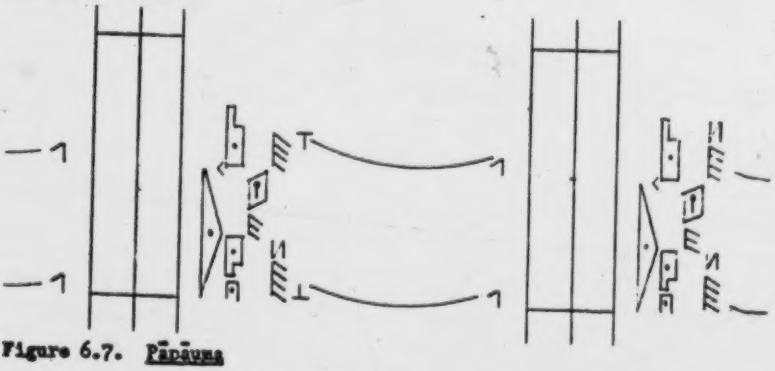

Figure 6.7. Pāpāuma

Motifs and Interpretation

These are some of the common motifs in Tongan dance. They are [192] not, however, equally frequent to the several genres. The terms I

[423 cont.]

175 running along the shore. The hills which were low, and not so high
175 above the level of the sea as the Isle of Wight, were agreeably
133 adorned with small clumps of trees scattered at some distance, and
137 the intermediate ground appeared covered with herbage, like many
175 parts of England. It was not long before we perceived some of the
609 inhabitants busied in launching several canoes, and paddling
175 towards us. We threw a rope into one of these canoes which ran up
609 close to us, and one of the three people in her came on board, and
431
20 presented a root of the intoxicating pepper-tree of the South Sea Islands, touched our noses with his like the New Zeelanders, in sign of friendship, and then sat down on the deck without speaking a word. The captain presented him with a nail, upon which he immediately held it over his own head, and pronounced fagafetai,
175 which was probably an expression of thanksgiving. He was naked
291 to the waist, but from thence to the knees he had a piece of cloth wrapped about him, which seemed to be manufactured much like that of Taheitee, but was covered with a brown colour, and a strong glue,
175 which made it stiff and fit to resist the wet. His stature was
142 middle-sized, and his lineaments were mild and tolerably regular.
175 His colour was much like that [424] of the common Taheitians (9),
142
302
[128]

9. As I shall frequently mention the inhabitants of Taheitee, and of the Society Islands, in comparison with other islanders, it will be proper to observe, that since the natives both of Taheitee and of the Society Islands, are perfectly alike in most respects, I shall indifferently call a custom Taheitian, or usual at the Society Islands, which is common to them both. Therefore, unless I expresly put these terms in contradistinction to each other, I wish to have them understood in general as synonymous.

that is, of a clear mahogany or chesnut brown; his beard was cut short or shaven, and his hair was black, in short frizzled curls, burnt as it were at the tips,

[424 cont.]

000 burnt as it were at the tips. He had three circular spots on each
175
304 arm, about the size of a crown piece, consisting of several concentric
[171] circles of elevated points, which answered to the punctures of the
Taheitians, but were not blacked; besides these, he had other black
[301] punctures on his body. A small cylinder was fixed through two holes
in the lap of his ear, and his left hand wanted the little finger.
175 He continued his silence for a considerable while, but some others,
609
201 who ventured on board soon after him, were of a more communicative
124 turn, and after having performed the ceremony of touching noses,
175 spoke a language which was unintelligible to us at that time. In
the mean while we arrived at the N.W. point of the island, where we
struck soundings on a good bottom, in an open road, and let go our
175 anchors about nine in the morning. We were presently surrounded by
439 a number of canoes, each containing three or four [425] people,
175 who offered great quantities of their cloth for sale. The canoes
501 were small, about fifteen feet long, very sharp built, and decked
[171] or covered at each extremity. Most of them had out-riggers made of
poles, like the small canoes at Taheitee, but the workmanship of
these boats was infinitely preferable, as they were joined together
with an exactness which surprised us, and the whole surface had
[171] received an excellent polish. Their paddles had short broad blades,
something like those of Taheitee, but more neatly wrought, and of
175 better wood. They made a great de l of noise about us, every one
439 shewing what he had to sell, and calling to some one of us, who
175 happened to look towards them. Their language was not unpleasing,
[609] and whatever they said, was in a singing kind of tone. Many were
[565] bold enough to come on board, without expressing the least
[431]
[201]

[425 cont.]

175 609 565 [431] [201] hesitation, and one of these seemed to be a chief, or a man of some quality, and was accordingly treated with a number of presents, which he severally laid on his head, when he received them, saying fagafetai every time. Our English cloth and linen he admired most, and iron wares in the next degree. His behaviour was very free and unconcerned; for he went down into the cabin, and whereever[A] we thought fit to conduct him. He likewise told us, upon our enquiry, that the island near which we lay at anchor, (the same which Tasman called Middleburg) was called Ea-Oowhe among his country-men; and that the [426] other to the north (or Tasman's Amsterdam island) bore the name of Tonga-Tabboo. We consulted several of the natives, in order to have greater certainty on this point, and always received the same names in answer.

175 123 175 123 609 [133] After breakfast, the captains went on shore with us and the chief, who had continued on board all that time. A bed of coral rocks surrounded the coast, towards the landing-place; but many canoes occupied the deep channels between these rocks, and a great number of inhabitants in them as well as on the shore, shouted for joy at our approach. The canoes immediately came along side the boat, and the natives threw great bales of cloth into it, without asking for any thing in return; while many of both sexes swam about perfectly naked, holding up some trifles, such as rings of tortoise-shell, fish-hooks of mother of pearl, and the like, for sale. As soon as we could make way through the throng of canoes, we approached as near as possible to the shore, and were carried to it out of our boat, for which the natives very readily offered their backs. The people thronged about us with every expression of friendship, and offered

[439] [431]

175 609 431

[A] [Sic--Analyst.]

[431 cont.]

175 cultivated, complicated, and elegant than at the Society Islands.
171 But, in return, the opulence, or rather luxury, of the Taheitians
[181] seemed to be much greater. We saw but few hogs and fowls here, and
[433] that great support of life, the bread-tree, appeared to be very
[23] scarce. Yams, therefore, and other roots, together with bananas,
[262] are their principal articles of diet. Their cloathing too, compared
[291] to that of Taheitee, was less plentiful, or at least not converted
[342] into such an article of luxury as at that island. Lastly, their
[351] houses, though neatly constructed, and always [432] placed in a
175 fragrant shrubbery, were less roomy and convenient. We made these
171 reflections as we advanced towards the landing place, where several
511 hundred natives were assembled; and their appearance immediately
struck us with the idea, that if they did not enjoy so great a
profusion of the gifts of nature as the Taheitians, those gifts
175 were perhaps distributed to all with greater equality. We advanced
609 among them, and were accosted with caresses by old and young, by men
201 and women. They hugged us very heartily, and frequently kissed our
hands, laying them on their breast, with the most expressive looks
175 of affection that can be imagined. The general stature of the men
141 was equal to our middle size, from five feet three to five feet ten
175 inches. The proportions of the body were very fine, and the contours
142 of the limbs extremely elegant, though something more muscular than
at Taheitee, which may be owing to a greater and more constant exertion
of strength in their agriculture and oeconomy. Their features were
extremely mild and pleasing, and differed from the Taheitian faces,
in being more oblong than round; the nose sharper, and the lips rather
[302] thinner. Their hair was generally black and strongly curled, and
[237]

[448 cont.]
Part of it appeared to have been planted
with yams, but the rest was full of grass, and had a little swamp
in the middle, where the purple water-hen, of poule sultane,
resided in great numbers. As soon as we left this, we entered into
a lane about six feet wide, between two fences of reed, which
enclosed extensive plantations on each side. Here we met many of
the natives, who were traveling to the beach with loads of
provisions, and courteously bowed their heads as they passed by us
in sign of friendship, generally pronouncing some monosyllable or
[449] other, which seemed to correspond to the Taheitian tayo. The
enclosures, plantations, and houses were exactly in the same style
as at Ea-oowhe, and the people had never failed to plant odoriferous
shrubs round their dwellings. The mulberry, of which the bark is
manufactured into cloth, and the bread-tree, were more scarce than
at the Society Isles, and the apple of those islands was entirely
unknown, but the shaddock well supplied its place. The season of
spring, which revived the face of all nature, adorning every plant
with blossoms, and inspiring with joyful songs the feathered
tribe, doubtless contributed in a great measure to make every object
pleasing in our eyes. But the industry and elegance of the natives,
which they displayed in planting every piece of ground to the greatest
advantage, as well as in the neatness and regularity of all their
works, demanded our admiration, whilst it gave us room to suppose,
that they enjoyed a considerable degree of happiness.

One of the lanes between the enclosures led us to a little grove,
which we admired for its irregularity. An immense casuarina tree
far out-topped the rest, and its branches were loaded with a vast
number of blackish creatures, which we took for crows at a distance,

[459 cont.]

175 An excellent print, executed by Mr. Sherwin, has been made from his drawing,
565
114 which expresses the countenance of this chief, and the mild character
[18] of the whole nation, better than any description. It is inserted in
[20]
[43] captain Cook's account of this voyage, and represents Attahha in the action of thanksgiving, laying a nail on his head, which he had

175 received as a present. After breakfast, the captains and my father
565 prepared to return to the shore with him; but just as he was going
152 out of the cabin, he happened to see a Taheitian dog running about the
231 deck; at this sight he could not conceal his joy, but clapped his hands on his breast, and turning to the captain, repeated the word goorree(15)

[97] 15. Ooree signifies a dog at Taheitee; and ghooree at New Zeeland.

[43] [460] near twenty times. We were much surprised to hear that he knew the name of an animal which did not exist in his country, and made him a present of one of each sex, with which he went on shore in an extasy of

175 joy. That the name of dogs should be familiar to a people, who are not
231 possessed of them, seems to prove either that this knowledge has been propagated by tradition from their ancestors, who migrated hither from other islands, and from the continent; or that they have had dogs upon their island, of which the race, by some accident, is become extinct; or lastly, that they still have an intercourse with other islands where these animals exist.

126 I remained on board all this day, to arrange the collection of plants and birds which we had made upon our first excursion, and which

175 was far from despicable, considering the small size of the island. The
501 natives continued to croud about our vessels in a number of canoes,
[48] whilst many were swimming to and from the shore, who were probably not rich enough to possess a canoe. These embarkations were of different

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion, are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening, having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island. At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
354 the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
175 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
609 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
171 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
252 country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards
175 our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
431 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
439 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
201 a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.[A] Our goods tempted them at least as much

[A] [6 October—Analyst.]

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)

565 19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced
197 Aree.

Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of
175 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Latoo) was a title,
197 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in
171 the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands,
[565] which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great

20. See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo, and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and
175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,
565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much
431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst
609 other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
[157] because his behaviour was most aukwardly passive. He did not return any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his
[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head, and pronounced the word fagafetai, like the meanest of his subjects.
175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the
565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank
276 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water(21), which was
415

ever-competent assistance of the A.D.C. punctuated our days and nights.

Daily Feasts

During the first course the delegates came from the far-away islands of Vava'u and Ha'apai and the nearer Eua, so they were daily entertained by a different local village which provided them with three handsome meals, the midday dinner being served on low tables on the *Langa Fonua* back verandah. A lorry would arrive between 11.30 and 12, a team of servers gaily garlanded would leap forth and unload great plaited coconut frond *pola* or stretchers laden with delicious food—long yams or taro down each side forming a protective wall for the pyramid of whole sucking pigs (the pig population in 1955 was 30,000), chickens, shellfish, fresh fish, salads, water melons and the popular *lu pulu* (corned beef cooked with coconut cream and wrapped in taro leaves) as well as a special local cassava and caramel pudding also wrapped in green leaves.

We would sit, a company of about 35 to 40, on the floor round this long laden table and eat with our fingers, helping ourselves freely while the host team entertained us with ukulele, songs and high-spirited dances in which many of us took part as a healthy digestive to the superb meal. Speeches from the visitors and hosts took place throughout the meal, the orator frequently weeping as a gesture of appreciation of such generous hospitality.

Then would follow the afternoon session, which on three days appropriately consisted of a talk on food values and a cooking demonstration.

Sunday was the final feast of that first week, at the house of the A.D.C. and his wife, the Hon. Vaea and Tuputupu, where European custom of linen and cutlery mingled with the lavish, genial festivity of Tonga.

The average attendance was 35 at these five-day courses for women leaders from different areas.

Courses For Village Instructors

Tonga has much the same difficulty as other countries throughout the world regarding village work, namely, the problem of keeping up interest without extraneous leadership. The morning sessions were consequently directed to-

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

cerned; and thinking that by a rather decided answer I had got rid of him, I again went on with my sketch.

The natives had begun to assemble on the hill in considerable numbers, coming in troops from all quarters and gathering round the spot where the band was to play. The young women and boys who had been crowding round me to see the sketch, now ran off and joined the rest, all except my canoe friend, who still kept hovering about, watching at a short distance until he should again catch my eye. There was now a fine chance, so he came up quite close, and looking me for a short time full in the face, with a most absurd, half-dejected, half-laughing expression, said, in an abstracted manner, and as if addressing no one in particular, "O, it is a beautiful canoe, mine." These continued interruptions became at last rather annoying, and as canoes could be obtained alongside for an old coat, I endeavoured to explain to my friend that his ideas were far too extravagant. He listened with an air of deferential attention until I had quite done, then said quietly, "You have not seen my canoe;" and warming with his subject, added energetically, "O it is beautiful!" After this, however distant he might be from the spot, he was sure to come and find me out whenever I landed, and haunt me with his "beautiful canoe." Often, when sketching in some retired part, where I hoped that for once I was safe from his persecution, I was sure to see my friend sitting somewhere among the trees, apparently quite unconscious of my presence, until he could quietly glide up and get near me without being perceived; and when close enough to be heard, he would make some observation in praise of his canoe.

Sinbad was never more tormented with the old man on his shoulders than I was with this provoking native and his eternal canoe. At last I was fairly beaten by his passive system, and finding his canoe really a good one, I gave him—not the five dollars exactly—but a whole wardrobe of old clothes, which pleased him quite as well.

In this digression about the canoe I had almost forgotten the band, which arrived in due time, the people all sitting down on the ground in the most orderly manner, and forming a great circle round it, the best places being given to the women. The music-stands having been set up, and all the preparations completed, a duet from Norma, the Old Hundredth, Drum Polka, Irish Quadrilles, and British Grenadiers, followed each other in rapid succession, the principal chiefs expressing their approval at each pause between the pieces by calling out Mālo māléeah!—Well done! sweet! adding, "go on again."

June 21*st*.—At daylight this morning, two large double canoes, decked over, and having houses upon them, were seen lying at

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

123 without rising, and shook hands—first with Captain Keppel, and
643 then with the rest of the party. He thanked Captain Keppel for
574 having brought him a letter from the governor of New Zealand, but said that, having been engaged in receiving his chiefs that morning, he had not yet had time to read it, and then, having accepted an invitation to dine on board that day, he turned his face away, and, resuming his former abstracted look, did not speak again.

574 The ceremonies connected with the kava drinking were now
644 going on. Two chiefs, each carrying bundles of the root, came in
[276] and laid them upon the mat before the king, where they left them and retired. The chief, sitting on the king's right hand, then ordered them to be counted, upon which two men came and sat down before them, with their faces towards the king. The ceremony then proceeded in the order which we were informed was usually observed on these occasions, as follows:—The chief demands how many bundles there are, and the men count them, calling out A-tá-ha! Ua! Túlu! one, two, three, and so on, touching each bundle as they do so, and counting them over in this way twice, the same form being observed although there might be only two or three bundles. Pigs, yams, and other provisions are also laid before the king and counted in the same manner, the pigs being carved in the royal presence, each being divided into eight parts, which are handed to the chiefs, who bring what they receive, and again lay it before the king, retiring until his spokesman
[231] recalls them, when they finally take it away. The pig's liver is laid upon leaves and presented to the king, who generally sends it to some one as a mark of his favour.

574 Besides the chief on his right, who directs the ceremonies generally, the king was attended by his orator, a venerable looking
644 old chief, who sat two removed from him on his left, and who, after
537 the chiefs had all presented their offerings, made a speech of thanks for the king in return. He spoke rapidly, but distinctly, pausing
[201] for a few seconds between each sentence. During his oration, the most perfect silence was observed, every one listening with an appearance of great respect and attention; the chiefs, when he had finished, calling out, Mālo-māléeah—very good, very sweet; the king, all the time, sitting quite silent, and without appearing to notice anything that was going on.

276 The kava root was now broken up into small portions with a
574 heavy pointed club, about five feet in length, made out of a whale's
644 jaw, the rind and points of the root being carefully removed, and
[412] pieces of it handed round to the chiefs, who chewed it into a pulp,
[237] which they spat into a piece of plantain leaf, and went with it to a man sitting with a large wooden bowl before him, in the centre of
[415] the semicircle, facing the king. When a sufficient quantity had